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RUSSIAN WAVE Migrations of Russian as a Global/Local Social Phenomenon¹

RUSKI TALAS
Migracija Rusa kao globalni/lokalni socijalni fenomen

APSTRAKT U radu se razmatra savremeni fenomen migracija na teritoriji Crne Gore. Istraživala sam veze Rusa sa Bokom Kotorskom koje postoje od 18. vijeka do današnjih dana. Rad posebno vodi računa o socijalnim aspektima ruskih migracija. Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca je prihvatila više od 20.000 ruskih izbjeglica nakon Oktobarske revolucije. *Elita carske Rusije* emigrirala je u Boku Kotorsku. Ovi ruski imigranti su zapamćeni po velikom broju kulturnih događaja i socijalnih planova. Ruske migracije su u ovoj studiji predstavljene i kao globalni i kao rusko-crnogorski fenomen. Od ranih 2000-tih Rusi su intenzivno kupovali nekretnine, posebno u primorskoj Crnoj Gori, kao i u planinskim područjima. Intenziviranje izgradnje stambenih jedinica pokazatelj je brojnih promjena na lokalnom nivou posebno u oblasti gradnji apartmana i ekonomskom jačanju lokalnog stanovništva. Štampani i elektronski mediji pružaju informacije koje se odnose na boravak i aktivnosti ruskih pridošlica. Njihovo prisustvo se osjeća tokom cijele godine. Ono se manifestuje tako što se ruski jezik čuje na ulici, u bankama, prodavnicama, apotekama, hotelima i restoranima, turističkim agencijama kao i na reklamama. Staro rusko groblje doživjelo je obnovu: gradi se kapela a i samo groblje se rekonstruiše. Pitanja su: Kako se ova tranzicijska, pravoslavna fluktuacija odražava na globalnu ekonomiju i kakve su prateće promjene na kulturnom i socijalnom planu?

Ključne riječi: migracija, društveni fenomen, štampani i elektronski mediji, integracija.

ABSTRACT This paper discusses the contemporary phenomenon of migrations in the territory of Montenegro. I have been researching the connections of the Russians with Boka Kotorska that have existed since the 18th century until the present day. This paper will pay special attention to the social aspects of Russian migrations. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians accepted more than 20,000 Russian refugees in the October Revolution aftermath. *The elite of the imperial Russia* emigrated to Boka Kotorska. These Russian immigrants are remembered by a large number of cultural events and social plans. Russian migrations are presented in this study both as a global and a Russo-Montenegrin phenomenon. Since early 2000s, Russians have intensively been buying real estate, especially in littoral Montenegro as well as in mountain regions. Intensified construction of housing units is an indicator of numerous changes on the local level, primarily in the area of apartment building and economic empowerment of local population. Published and electronic media provide valid information related to the residence and activities of the Russian newcomers. Their presence is felt throughout the whole year. It is manifested through Russian language heard in the streets, banks, shops, pharmacies, hotels and restaurants, tourist agencies, as well as through advertising. The old Russian cemetery in Herceg Novi is experiencing its renewal: a chapel is being built and cemetery itself re-built. The questions are:

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what is the reflection of this transitional, Orthodox fluctuation on global economy and what are the related changes on the cultural and social plan.

Key words: migration, social phenomenon, printed and electronic media, integration.

Introduction

In today's modern whirlpool in which everything quickly changes due to the speed of technology and when one piece of information is succeeded by another it is vitally important to sum up everything so it does not disappear before it is recorded.

Despite the fact that sociologists are becoming more and more interested in the new forms of 21st century migrations (Castles, Miller 2003) there still seems to be a lack of written work on the Russo-Montenegrin phenomenon. The aim of this article therefore is to offer a scientific contribution that can help understand the newly created social situation in Montenegro in the period after excessive settlement of Russian immigrants. I have attempted to establish the anatomy of events over the past few years in regard to the question of 'what drives people to new destinations?' The study also keeps in mind decisive factors such as time and social trends in general. The intention of this article is to examine *the new form of migrations*, providing facts based upon field research and information gathered from various local residents. This sample group includes both Montenegrin and Russian inhabitants, the latter having lived in this area for a number of years. My work also makes use of printed and electronic media published in Montenegro and Serbia.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, Russians have spread all over the world as tourists, businessmen and real estate traders. They are especially interested in attractive and popular tourist destinations and thus particularly in the Montenegrin territory.

They have attracted a lot of attention in the process by excessive real estate purchase either for temporary or permanent residence or business, as well as by their numbers and the changes they have caused to the coastal and urban landscape in Montenegro, this being the most prominent visually.

My research suggests that some Russian citizens have chosen this coast because of its natural beauty and fine climate, great airline connections between Moscow and Tivat, Moscow and Podgorica, St Petersburg and Tivat. Besides these factors, most people I interviewed also emphasized reasonable prices, a good supply of commodities, a peaceful and friendly atmosphere, high-quality accommodation, great fun for youth, peace and quiet for the elderly, a laid back lifestyle and the language similarity. Many others find the shared Orthodox religion central.

The time factor plays an important role in my research as the current wave of Russian settlement has been taking place over the last eight years, the

greatest intensity being in the period between 2006 and 2007, dropping slightly in 2008.²

The following lines were printed in a Montenegrin newspaper several years ago: „...there has appeared a new and powerful „elite“. Though, a different kind of Putin's elite has found its asylum here...“.¹ It was from this that I started my research in Montenegro in 2003., beginning in the area of the Boka Kotorska Bay, Budva and Bar, and later extending it to Kolašin and Žabljak. I was able to establish that the purchase appeal of lands and private properties has reached the mountain of Durmitor. In a 2007 edition of the Belgrade based newspaper *Večernje Novosti*, Montenegrin businessman, Predrag Drecun jokingly remarked that the foreign land owners will soon outnumber the native ones in the Montenegrin land registry.³

When it comes to Montenegro and Russia's connection, I consider their shared history crucial. For example, the genesis of the Russian-Montenegrin bonds dates back from the education of the first Russian seamen in Perast at the end of the 17th century, it continues through Bowel's part in the foundation of the Russian fleet during the 18th century, as well as through the Russians governing the Boka territory at the beginning of the 19th century. The elite of imperial Russia immigrated to the Boka Kotorska Bay.⁴ Most of them were high-ranking officers, professors, doctors and artists with their families. Many of them stayed to live and work there. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians took more than 20,000 Russian refugees in the October Revolution aftermath. Among the first refugees were 33 high-ranking officers under the command of general Vrangel and most of them disembarked in the port of Zelenika (Herceg Novi) and were accommodated in the nearby towns (Jovanović 1996: 1-386).

During the time of their settlement the war effects were still present and the difficult economic situation of the locals added to the living difficulties of Russian immigrants. The local and military officials cooperated to provide their accommodation and medical treatment with the aid of the Russian Red Cross.

Over the years Russians in Montenegro have founded numerous educational, cultural and art centers there, and have remained well-known as initiators of various cultural events. Coming from a culture of musical education, they have organized concerts of classical music, opera nights, and have given lessons of French, Russian and ballet. The town of Igalo, with its population of 300, was the place where they founded the Russian Philatelist Society with its pamphlet distributed all over the world. A decade after their settlement a number of Russians moved to different parts of the Kingdom in search of better life conditions.

² Bojanić, M., *Kremlj i krem na Luštici* [Kremlin and crème in Luštica]. In: *Pobjeda*, Podgorica, August, 19th, 2007, 9.

³ Prelević, Č., *Bačuške samo kešom* [Russians have the money]. In: *Večernje Novosti*, Belgrade, January, 15th, 2007.

⁴ See Kovačević (1972), Mijušković (1972), and Zloković (1972).

The historical value of Russian emigrants gained recognition through the efforts of the *Serbian-Russian Friendship Society of Boka Kotorska and Dubrovnik*, founded in 1990-91. In 2003, it was renamed the *Serbian-Russian Friendship Society of Herceg Novi and Boka Kotorska*. As the society's declaration reads, „The program of the Society is the strengthening of the cultural and historical ties with Russia. The main objective of the Society is the protection of the Russian cemetery on the Savina – Herceg Novi built in 1919-20 which was earlier devastated with most of the tombs being sold in the 1990s“ (Dabović 1999: 285-289).

The Society started to litigate and managed to protect a small piece of the cemetery where today stands a church dedicated to St. Teodor Usakov. It wasn't until 2006 that the Russian Duma started to support the restoration of the cemetery and this marked the beginning of the restoration and construction of the church with the blessing of Metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro and the Littoral. The Russian Parliament, Russian Patriarchate and other institutions have given the church a number of religious icons, and construction was finished in 2008. The day of St Fjodor Usakov, the patron saint of the church situated on the cemetery grounds in Herceg Novi, takes place every 14th October⁵. Upon this occasion, Gori Jakov Gerasimov, Russian ambassador to Montenegro expressed his joy with the newly built church and restored cemetery. He also welcomed the great number of people and businessmen who appeared at the liturgy.

The presence of Russian citizens in Montenegro is widely evident nowadays: in the supermarkets, retail stores, clothing shops, chemists', at the beach, and in many tourist facilities during the whole year to a greater or lesser extent depending on the season.

Five years after the first significant Russian migration all parts of Montenegrin society are talking about the Russians-waiters in the restaurants and coffee shops, bank employees, new and old neighbors, real estate agents.

The children of the Russians residing in Montenegro go to the local schools of all levels-from pre-school institutions to universities. Most of the Russians came to Montenegro as tourists, some of them came for work, and the

⁵ Mrs. Gordana Stijepčić Bulatović, the president of Serbian-Russian Friendship Society, provided me with the information I mentioned in the text in written form and during our conversations in August and September in 2007 in Herceg Novi. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to her.

Mr. Aleksandar Beljakov, the executive director of the Slavic alliance in Herceg Novi provided me with significant data regarding the construction of the church and restoration of the cemetery during our conversation in September, 2007 in Herceg Novi. The media published the news about the Russian cemetery on several occasions: Papović, S., *Elitacarske Rusije* [The elite of the imperial Russia] In: *Politika*, October, 2003; Ignjatović, V., *Parastosposle 90godina* [Dirge after 90 years] In: *Svedok*, January 16th, 2007, Belgrade; In: *Dan*, Podgorica, April, 30th and May 1st and 2nd, 2007 (I Putin pod Orjenom [Putin below Orjen too] Strig, V.; Zlotnikov, L. *Otkrivanje spomenika Rusima u Crnoj Gori* [Unveiling of monuments dedicated to Russians in Montenegro, Herceg Novi], In: *Ruski Jadran*, pre-number, Budva, May, 2007, 4-5.

majority that bought real estate stayed. The number of both single and married Russians permanently residing in the territory of Montenegro is currently estimated at over three thousand.

Even though the first Russians in this current wave came to Montenegro at the beginning of the 21st century as tourists they were well informed about all the legal and administrative as well as social and economic aspects related to the buying of real estate property. With the real estate purchases most of them decided to use their new homes throughout the year. The families that had settled here six or seven years ago became assimilated and known as good neighbors that 'feel at home'. The number of Russians coming to Montenegro for vacation, business, temporary or permanent stay is growing leaving anthropologists wondering about the effects of this recent migration movement to the country.

„Russian wave“

The visible manifestations of the Russian presence become apparent as soon as you step out into Tivat and Podgorica airports. There are welcome signs and notice boards written in Russian, the billboards along the highway carry a variety of messages also in Russian, while offers and prices are written in Russian in most public places.

Over the last three years, real estate agencies have 'popped up like mushrooms', most of them in Herceg Novi, Budva, Kotor, Bar and Podgorica. The sharp locals, most of whom are not educated in the field of law, own or part-own numerous real estate agencies with only one common aim, easy money. Visually diverse, the agencies are often situated one next to the other.

Many agencies offer all the services required in the real estate traffic and construction of apartments along with internal and external house planning and pursuit of popular locations. They provide all the administrative services required for construction permits, design, supervision and technical checks, residential and office space arrangement including all the manual work and all the works related, as well as turn-key projects. Notice boards placed by the highway along the coast of the Adriatic Sea reinforce this. Agencies distribute their pamphlets all around the city, placing them on cars, in mail boxes, cafes, restaurants and anywhere else that may attract the attention of Russian clients. (Radojičić 2008: 115-120.).

The large number of agencies in Herceg Novi, for example, is quite surprising. In 2006, there were 20 of them in the locations of Topla and Igalo. Magazine *Prostor* which is published in Podgorica advertises a luxurious real estate agency called 'Gra-Mar' from Herceg Novi with the slogan: „Your partner in the real estate world“, followed by the lines: „In times of Montenegrin tourist and construction expansion and since Montenegro has become a more and more attractive place to spend a holiday and also life, the real estate demand on the Montenegrin coast is constantly increasing. This has

affected the need for professional real estate agencies. Professionalism, expertise and good service is what you might expect from our staff here in *Gra-Mar*. *Gra-Mar*, with its offices in Herceg Novi is your first choice as a partner in the real estate world“.

New Russian property owners are being enlisted along with their newly built houses in the *Republic State Land Registry*.⁶ A rich and diverse offer for the new migrants is marked at every step. They are expected to bring about economic prosperity. Advertisements that come in all sizes also serve to remind the local Montenegrin population that the Cyrillic script still exists.

Tourist agencies have their advertising material printed in Russian. They offer trips, ranging from visits to the Monastery of Ostrog (religious tourism) to 'fish picnics'.

Groceries, mega-markets and car shops have 'popped up like mushrooms'. It is presumed by most that prices have risen due to these new Russian buyers appearing. The restaurant menus are translated into Russian, and have more to offer. The Russians enjoy domestic cuisine and good fish restaurants. Those who have started their lives in Montenegro and who feel most at home here take an interest in traditional food and enjoy shopping in the local markets buying domestic products. Judging from the conversations I had with Russian women working at the flea markets in Herceg Novi and Budva, it seems their Russian customers are well-informed and happy with the prices, especially when it comes to vegetables.

According to some sources, there will be an increase in population, as a result of many mixed marriages. The Russian Centre in Bar opened an agency that would serve to bring people from Russia and Montenegro together in order to marry. On 13th December, the head of the Russian Center stated in „Politika“ that the number of male Montenegrins interested in meeting „the one“ with the help of the agency exceeds the expected. The agency is highly discreet and an interesting fact is that the oldest groom is seventy-eight and is searching for a female Russian aged forty-five.

One step further in social reality is the presence of Russian artists in the Montenegrin cultural life, appearing either as authors or as the reason of special artistic happenings. Many Russians take part in those events, both musical and visual. They make their artistic contribution especially during summer.⁷ Growing intercultural cooperation is visible through various art festivals. The exhibition sponsored by an international foundation“ Cultural heritage“ from

⁶The official site of the Chamber of economy of Montenegro has the list of registered companies that have the building permit and are using Russian foreign capital. Construction of new objects is possible through the work of these companies, because foreign buyers of land cannot be registered.

⁷Mr. Aleksandar Beljakov, the executive director of the Slavic alliance in Herceg Novi, mentioned, during our conversation, that the goals of this alliance are to enrich the art offer in this area through the works of Russian painters that would create here. This is the reason they organized the art colony.

Sankt Petersburg was opened in May 2011 in gallery „Kastelo di Boka“. It showed more than 80 oil paintings and aquarelles from 15 different artists from Russia and Ukraine whose works were inspired by Boca's nature and beauty. The exhibition was opened by Sergej Prisekin, a renowned member of The Russian Academy of Science. Russian consul to Montenegro said that culture enriches relationships and that it is very important that Russian painters have the opportunity to work and find motivation in Montenegro. *This kind of long term projects enable us to enrich our life said Sergej Froponov for „Dan“.*

Regarding everyday language, the Russians have picked up a few words in Serbian and either communicate in a strange mix of Russian and Serbian (the so-called *Russian-Serbian*), or in Russian. Younger generations prefer using English though.

A great number of banks with luxurious fronts have been opened. It can be observed that they are trying to attract Russian clients and their investments. Those who come here more than once a year are well-informed about the terms the banks offer and have opened accounts. During the first few years they mostly used the exchange services, exchanging dollars for euros, but lately they've began using credit card services. However, this has come to a standstill as the selling and construction of new buildings has dropped due to the financial crisis. This has struck also Montenegrin-Russian firms opened following the wave of Russian migrants along with their interest in investments in the Montenegrin market. The causes of the local crisis might be found in the initiated and anticipated big foreign investments in Montenegro in the period directly preceding the beginning of the crisis. This is through the phenomenon of invasion of private investors, most of them Russian. By these purchases they have created a false sense of well-being amongst the local population. As reported by the written media, the sudden real estate demand „has raised prices through the roof“, or „has drastically increased prices per square meter“. In certain locations these prices have even reached more than 7000 euros per square meter. This data has been published on various occasions in different newspapers' articles as well as in the articles of Savo Gregović from 2007 and 2009.

It wasn't hard to notice, during the years of my research, that a great number of new buildings have been built, put up for sale or rented. Many tourist complexes have been erected as well, so the overall visual and infrastructural picture of the Montenegrin coast has suffered changes. Many headlines in the written media draw light on this (Radojičić 2009:138).

The culture of living is changing as one might observe from the new looks of the interiors, and the choice of expensive, luxurious furniture bought in large shopping malls situated mostly on the outskirts of Podgorica and Bar, the region of neighboring Dubrovnik or imported from Italy and Spain. Private homes are designed on demand according to the owners' choices and tastes. It is also interesting that only a few years ago, yachts and other sea-faring objects were rented by the Russians. During the last two years, the number of yachts,

„beautiful to look at“, has increased. They are anchored throughout the year in the ports of Herceg Novi, Kotor, Budva and Bar. Their demurrage and maintenance, as well as maintenance of motor vehicles, is another source of income for the local Montenegrins.

The buying and selling in Montenegro became an everyday sociopolitical topic. This phenomenon can be seen in another fluctuation, intensive apartment and office space purchase in the capital of Montenegro, Podgorica, by Montenegrin people from coastal towns. By selling their inherited lands that became attractive only upon the Russian arrival, they have acquired higher social status and began investing their money in Montenegro as well as in The Republic of Serbia. They have been buying apartments in exclusive parts of the capital of Serbia, Belgrade, as well as in Kragujevac, Vrnjačka Banja, and on mount Zlatibor which is a popular tourist destination and is close to Montenegro.

Media view

Media attention is immense and is oriented, among other things, on the adaptation and assimilation of Russian citizens who have moved to Montenegro. On August, 1st in 2007 in an article featured in *The Guardian* (London), the following headline noted the magnitude of the Russian situation in Montenegro: „an influx of Russian tourist is a global phenomenon“.

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On a daily basis, all major newspapers and primetime news in Montenegro seem to have a slot for advertising consumer goods. The daily Montenegrin newspapers *Pobjeda* and *Dan i Vijesti* frequently write about Russian tourists and Russian businessmen doing business in Montenegro; buying hotels, factories and houses. Electronic media, radio and TV stations are also involved in 'the Russian wave' as some of the headlines read: „Russians not to forget the language“, „Russians are learning in their mother tongue, but not in Russian“, „Education in Russian“. These are some of the headlines that point to an important trend of the Russian newcomers to settle permanently in Montenegro. Russian children in Budva who attend „Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša“ school receive their education in Russian.

Advertisements in Russian can be heard every day on the radio. They advertise many things, from the furniture salon „Destini“, to „Zlatibor“ restaurant in Budva. They also advertise electrical and plumbing materials, construction material storages, supermarkets, chemists, car shops, and other various services.

In addition to the above mentioned, the printed media in Russian has been greatly expanding. *Правовой Вестник* has been published since April,

1st, 2008 and costs 4 Euros. *Комсомольской правды* costs 1 euro and also has a wide variety of advertisement such as „buy a flat on The Adriatic Sea and live peacefully”⁸.

Russian printed media published in Budva are crammed with commercials for consumer goods. They also cover current news in culture, sports, tourism and economy and offer medical advice.

Русский журнал Адриатика is issued monthly. Each issue features a different city on the coast. The journal is rich with illustrations and technically supported. All the advertisements are free of charge and offer all the necessary information to Russian newcomers regarding purchases and legal advice. There are a lot of texts covering historical events, tourist attractions and current affairs in Montenegro.

Русская газета is distributed to Russia. This newspaper is printed in Budva, where their office is located. The first edition was printed in 2007 and its circulation fluctuates between 2000 and 5000 copies.

In summer of the 2012 a newspaper designed for Russian preschool children *Детство в черногории* was added to the list of various printed media available on the market in Montenegro and intended for Russian readers. Publishers' intention is to print Montenegrin legends and folk tales as color books in Russian language.

Mass media are involved in 'the Russian wave'. RTV station MVS has been broadcasting TV shows in Russian every day except Mondays since 2008.⁹

„Montenegrins are selling, and Russians are just buying what is on the market,” said the Russian ambassador to Montenegro on the primetime news RTV Montenegro in August, 2007. This was his reply to the journalist's question regarding the intensity of purchase by Russians in Montenegro.

The media in Serbia and Croatia have also shown interest in these Russian buyers no matter whether they migrate as tourists, stay for the weekend, the whole year or come simply for the duration of their business purpose.

The issue of *Politika* (a leading Serbian newspaper) published on September 8th 2007 for instance, reports 'that Montenegrin coast recorded the migration of Russian families with a tendency to stay permanently after the purchase of real estates.' Other printed media such as *Večernje Novosti*, *Kurir*, *Pregled*, *Svedok*, *Ekonomika Politika*, *Narodne Novine* – Niš, and *Dnevnik* – Novi Sad have also focused their attention on this problem.

Russians that live in Serbia can be observed through the media view which is becoming more and more intense. „The Russian word“ is a special addition published in *Politika* which brings news from Russia. The 9th issue of „The Russian word“ was printed on December 12th 2012 with the main headline: „Why are Russians learning Serbian?“ Does it stem from the love

⁸ *Комсомольской правды*, No. 7, 6-12 June, 2008, 11.

⁹ Vijesti, TV program, broadcasted on April, 20th, 22nd, 26th, 2008.

towards the „brotherly culture“ or is it something else? *The reports reveal the real reason for learning..... on the educational market in the capital of Russia the interest to learn Serbian has risen.* The author of the text, Vjačeslav Čarski, divided people interested in learning Russian into three categories. Majority of the course attendants in Moscow and ST. Petersburg are real estate owners in Montenegro and their wives and young people. The text describes different examples that illustrate that their knowledge of recent history of the Balkans is very poor. The second big group is made of young girls and women that are in love with Serbian and Montenegrin people and that *would like to speak to them and their families in their mother tongue.* The last group consists of young people that like Goran Bregović's music for example or other kinds of music and films.

In the 21st century the Russian wave is spreading towards Serbia not only due to the business reasons but as V. Čarski claims also due to: *Once a Russian learns the language and discovers a different world, sees a number of good films, listens to a number of great songs and reads a book from a contemporary Serbian writer or some articles in newspapers, he will decide to go to Belgrade rather than to Tivat or Podgorica. Even after one day in Belgrade he realizes that he will come back there on numerous occasions.*

„The voice of Russia“ has become more popular in Serbia-claims the editor of the radio program Vera Žerdeva, pointing out the fact that since 2010 their program has become more informative. Reporting about economic situation in Serbia comes first but they also take very seriously social issues and reporting of different cultural events.

„The end of the Russian fairy tale in Montenegro“ is the headline of an article in the year 2011 in *Večernje Novosti* where Sreto Lutovac, the owner of a real estate agency in Budva, states: „it was possible to sell everything, no one is buying anything now, the situation was much better during the Nato aggression in 1999. The fact that the prices are 50 % lower in the last two years comparing to the Russian boom period from 2007 to 2008 doesn't help. For instance a luxury apartment located in the centre of Budva is still for sale for 1,500 Euros per square meter and no one is interested in buying the same. The situation is the same with 10,000 m² of unsold property on the coast.“ He complains that everything has stopped and that the government and other authorities have not shown support. Apart from this „incompetence of contractors, frauds, false information, many problems investors had to face, problems with administrative organization starting from legally verified documents and lack of urban projects and professional help lead to confusion it was important to earn money quickly“ said this real estate agency owner. Registered real estate agencies are annoyed by the fact that Russians stick together. The text highlights the significant changes that have occurred in the territory of Montenegro; thus the Russians who have been living in Montenegro for a couple of years meet their countrymen at Tivat airport trying to warn them that „the Montenegrin people will trick [them]“, and this is clearly a way of attracting Russian clients. It is

evident that certain projects and planned construction such as hotels, golf courts and casinos have not been built on the property sold to Russians.¹⁰ Newspaper article *Prices drop, but no buyers* from 2011, written according to the data provided by real estate agencies, writes about stable situation in the real estate market and the fact that even though the price of land, apartments and houses dropped there were no buyers. Real estate agencies pointed out that wealthy Russians, *who were buying a lot of houses, land and flats during 2006 and 2007 have turned their backs...and the Russian „invasion“ and their investment in real estate was the motive for so many builders to take out loans and erect residential buildings hoping for a lucrative return.* Sergej Zamurev (investment consultant) has been living in Montenegro since 2006. He said for this newspapers that *buying of rural land was like a game of „Russian roulette“ , and therefore any serious investor should not buy this kind of property due to the lack of law guarantees.* He also claims that it is impossible to determine the prices and the true value of land.

Conclusion

The information used in this article is gathered from field research as well as from the printed and electronic media and was used without the intention of further developing the theoretical and methodological approach to migration. Almost two decades after the end of communism Russians have spread all over the world as tourists, businessmen and real estate buyers. They are interested in well-known and attractive, mainly tourist destinations. At the beginning of the 21st century Russians started migrating to coastal Montenegro attracted by the many conveniences offered as well as for business purposes. Their tendency to stay in Montenegro is shown not just through the purchase of real estate but through the opening of Russian cultural centers, education of their children and the establishment of Russo-Montenegrin companies.

The intensity of construction works and purchase of real estate was fluctuating during 2006 and 2007 and after 2008 due to the world economic crisis it started decreasing (Radojičić 2009: 135-140).

Over the past few years people were selling, buying, trading, tearing down old and erecting new houses and buildings in many places. This was especially noticeable in the places that used to be neglected non-arable areas. *Pobjeda*, a Montenegrin daily newspaper, published an article „Kremlin and crème in Luštica“. Peninsula Luštica located at the entrance of the Boka Kotorska Bay is geographically speaking an area that used to be covered in Mediterranean vegetation and sporadically populated. Today it is a construction site. Rural areas of this peninsula have changed. Many new Russian villas surrounded by high walls have been erected.

¹⁰ Crna Gora danas No. 3-4. (46-47) march-april, 2011, monthly journal pages 34-37).

Russians citizens who live in the areas I have been exploring are satisfied with the cuisine, the hospitality of local people, and the casual atmosphere felt everywhere. They feel free, though in the same way as former migrants, they are creating their own social-cultural environment through various cultural events.

They can relax without the usual stress because they are not staying in the expensive hotels where they have to follow the rules, those being the words of one of the Russians I interviewed. He pointed out that he as well as many other Russians goes to Russia only once a year in order to extend his visa.

Russians that are coming to Montenegro are not the typical tourists, at least not the majority that have purchased flats and houses or spend most of the year there. They are: businessmen in different branches, intellectuals, professors, doctors, economists, artists and journalists. Majority of them are family people, married couples with children, aged between 40 and 60. They are visited by their relatives, friends and acquaintances, as well as by their business partners from Russia. Young people, except young married couples with children, come to Montenegro during the summer. Newspapers articles as well as and my field work show that the number of Russians staying in Montenegro for a month or more than one month varies from three hundred families to a thousand or more people depending on a number of different factors. This will be the subject of future work.

The aim of present paper was to describe and to draw the attention to a new type of migration to Montenegro. Geographical, historical, religious, linguistic factors as well as „the relaxed atmosphere’ and their significant influence on the distinctiveness of the Russian migration to Montenegro will be discussed further in future research. This region will not be the same as it was before the Russians migrated, which can be seen from all the information presented in this article. This already prevailing, firm, fruitful multicultural symbiosis in Boka has managed to, without too much tension and almost naturally, accept into its „arms“ „the sufferers“, members of a great Slav nation and culture. In the period when even in the memories of the oldest residents of Boka memories of many Russian emigrant families and renowned individuals are slowly fading away, I present information that have almost relic value. Validity of a new type of migrations and creation of some new relations based on different foundations makes this new type of migrations as well as their research worthwhile.

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